

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

<b>Mahari Bailey, et al.,</b>	:	
<b>Plaintiffs</b>	:	<b>C.A. No. 10-5952</b>
	:	
<b>v.</b>	:	
	:	
<b>City of Philadelphia, et al.,</b>	:	
<b>Defendants</b>	:	

**PLAINTIFFS' TENTH REPORT TO COURT ON STOP AND FRISK  
PRACTICES: FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT ISSUES**

**Racial Analysis of Stop and Frisk Practices: July-December, 2019**

**I. Introduction**

This section sets forth a statistical analysis of the “Stop and Frisk” practices of the PPD for the second half of 2019, conducted by plaintiffs’ expert, Professor David Abrams. The benchmarks to be used in the analysis are those set forth in a revised Benchmark Memorandum agreed to by the parties in 2016, with certain changes and additions stipulated as of April 18, 2018.

In creating benchmarks to measure compliance of the PPD with the terms of the Agreement, we considered several criteria. First, the benchmarks are designed to be straightforward in terms of computation and interpretation. Second, they are designed to measure characteristics at the core of the Agreement, namely compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment. Third, they consider other potential explanations for patterns in the data beyond suspect race. The benchmarks are based on those discussed and used in *NAACP v. City of Philadelphia*, academic literature on the topic, and in other litigation, *e.g., Floyd v. City of New York*, 959 F. Supp. 2d 540 (S.D.N.Y. 2013). The benchmarks and analyses reported here are largely the same as in the last report.

As we detail below, the principle findings regarding racial impacts of stops and frisk practices in Philadelphia are (1) as before, full regression analysis shows that the large disparity in stops and frisks between White and minority residents of Philadelphia are not explained or justified by non-racial factors, (2) on the benchmark of stops and frisks without reasonable suspicion by race of the person stopped, there is statistically significant data that show that Black suspects are stopped and frisked without reasonable suspicion at far higher rates than Whites: Blacks are over 50% more likely to be stopped without reasonable suspicion than Whites and Blacks are 40% more likely to be frisked without reasonable suspicion than Whites, and (3), as discussed in the Plaintiffs' Tenth Report to the Court: Fourth Amendment issues, the hit-rates for weapons on frisks of persons who police claim to have reasonable suspicion are "armed and dangerous," remains at close to negligible numbers.

## **II. Summary of the Racial Aspects of the Stop and Frisk Data**

We examined data from Q3 and Q4 2019 pedestrian stops. As in prior years, a random sample of the stops was drawn by the Philadelphia Police Department for legal analysis for stop and frisk sufficiency by the plaintiffs and the City. *See* Plaintiffs' Tenth Report to Court: Fourth Amendment Issues (filed\ April 20, 2020). In this report, we largely focus on an analysis of this randomly selected sample (see Table 1), but we also include a description of the full array of stops (Table 2) at the PSA-race level, to better assess the overall stop rate (Table 5).

The sample dataset (Table 1) includes 3,982 total pedestrian stops and the full

data set has 38,942.<sup>1</sup> This reflects a 3.9% decline in total stops relative to the first half of 2018. This decline is substantially lower than that found in the previous report where there was a 27% decline in one year.

In the random sample, the mean detainee age is 34.5 and 85% of detainees are male, a cohort that is slightly older and less male than the prior year. The likelihood of being stopped rises sharply in the late teens and early 20's (Figure 1), a reflection of higher rates of criminal conduct for all races at this age. 70% of stopped pedestrians were Black, one percentage point lower than in the first half of 2018.

The data is subdivided into 65 Police Service Areas (PSA's). See Table 2 for PSA-level summary statistics.<sup>2</sup> There were an average of 439 stops of Black pedestrians per PSA in the second half of 2019, compared with 118 White stops, and 42 of Latinos. We also compute the citywide stop rate by race per 10,000 residents of the same race: for Q3 and Q4 of 2019 this was 565 for Blacks, 415 for Whites and 172 for Latinos.

In Section III, *infra*, we use a regression framework to determine whether factors other than race may account for the racial disparities. The control variables include demographic, economic, and crime factors. The employment rate varies substantially across PSA's. The variation in racial composition is even greater, with the Black residential share ranging from 3% to 95% (Table 2). To account for higher crime rates among juvenile and young adult males, we control for the share of males in the 15 to 24

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<sup>1</sup> The number of stops and other characteristics in both the random sample and the full data set for 2019 Q3 and Q4 are slightly different from those set forth in our Tenth Report, Fourth Amendment issues. These differences result primarily from a de-duplication procedure, and they do not affect the analysis or results presented in these reports.

<sup>2</sup> PSA 77 (the airport) is omitted because it has no residential population.

age range in some regression specifications. This share also varies widely, from 3 to 23 percent, with a mean of 7%. Crime rates can impact stop rates and thus we control for them using three different measures: violent crime, property crime and overall Part 1 crimes. Crime rates vary by more than a factor of 10 across Philadelphia and thus it is important to include these controls.

Table 3 provides a breakdown of stop, frisk and arrest rates by race in the randomly selected sample. As noted, Blacks account for 71% of stops, Whites for 22% and Latinos account for 7%. Minorities account for an even higher share of individuals frisked, of which 82% are Black, 6% Latino and 12% White. The black share of those frisked increased by 4 percentage points since the previous report. About 1 in 7.2 stops of Black pedestrians result in a frisk, but the rate is less than half that for Whites, only 1 in 15.2. Latinos are frisked at a rate closer to Blacks, 1 in every 9.1 stops. The racial difference is not as great for arrests, with an arrest of a Black detainee resulting from 7.8 stops on average, while for Whites it takes 7.5 stops. The arrest rate for Latinos is substantially higher, with 1 arrest resulting from every 5.7 stops.

The number of stops varies substantially by district, with the 24th, which includes Port Richmond, with the largest number, accounting for 15.5% of the total (Figure 2). The fewest stops were in the 7<sup>th</sup> Police District, in Northeast Philadelphia, accounting for under 0.5% of all stops.

### **III. Benchmark Applications**

#### **A. Stops, Census and Regression Analysis**

##### *1. Census and Stop Data*

The question of whether race is impermissibly used as a factor in the decision to

stop and frisk cannot be answered by a simple comparison of stop and frisk rates to census data. Even if stop and frisk rates relative to the same-race residential population vary by race, as they do in Philadelphia, there could be non-racial explanations for the disparities. However, the stop rates relative to census data is the appropriate starting point before moving on to more sophisticated analyses that take into account non-racial factors that may explain differences. As set forth in Tables 2 and 3, the base stop rate by race in comparison to the census population is as follows:

Black stops=71%; Black census=44%

White stops=22%; White census=35%

Latino stops=7%; Latino census=12%

The next analysis is a cross-PSA comparison of stop rates by Black/Minority population share. It is possible to examine variation in the share of Black and Latino stops by PSA, as reported in Tables 4A and 4B, respectively. Each row in the tables represents a PSA (column 1) and the tables are sorted by the Black or Latino share of the population in the district, as reflected in column 2. The third column reports the share of stops that are of Black/Latino pedestrians and the fourth is the ratio of Black/Latino stops to Black/Latino population share. It is noteworthy that in all but one of the PSAs, Blacks account for a higher share of stops than they do of the population (column 4); in several PSA's, they are stopped at a rate over five times their share of the population. For example, in PSA 91 (which includes Center City, west of Broad), the population is only 5% Black, but 69% of stops were of Blacks. In PSA 12, the population is 3% Black and 42% of stops were of Blacks. By contrast, in the PSA 192 (Overbrook and other parts of West Philadelphia), where Blacks make up 93% of the population, the ratio of Black

stops to Black population was close to a 1:1 ratio.

This trend of a very high minority stop rates in heavily White locations can be seen visually in Figure 3. If the ratio of minority stops were independent of PSA minority share, the points should form a horizontal line. The fact that the points in the left end of the figure (heavily White PSA's) have much higher Black stop ratios, reinforces the results from Table 4A.

The last two columns in Tables 4A and 4B report characteristics based on the census population of the PSA, not just minorities. Column 5 reports total stops per capita and Column 6, the violent crime rate in the PSA (violent crimes per 10,000 residents). Figure 4 visually displays the relationship between overall stop rate and Black population share. It shows that areas with a greater Black population share experience a higher stop rate than those with a lower share. Of course, regression analysis is necessary to determine whether the violent crime rates or other differences in these PSA's explains the extent of the differences.

## *2. Multivariate Regression Analysis*

To address non-racial influences, we next move to a multivariate regression analysis. This approach is more robust than a comparison of averages because it examines the relationship among multiple variables simultaneously. To determine the impact of suspect race on the likelihood of a stop or frisk, we control for factors that include the demographic makeup and crime rate of the neighborhood.

First, we add data collected from the U.S. Census (through the American Communities Survey) as well as data on reported crimes by PSA from the Philadelphia Police Department. We begin by examining differences in overall stop rates by race in

Table 5. This Table and Tables 6, 8, 9 and 11-14 share the same format: each column in the Table reports results from a separate regression that identifies the relationship between the variables listed in the first column and the dependent variable, which is the title of the table. For example, the regression that is reported in column 2 can be written as:

$$(1) \quad StopRate = \alpha + \beta_1 Black + \beta_2 Latino + \beta_3 Male + \beta_4 Age + \epsilon$$

$$StopRate = \alpha + \beta_1 Black + \beta_2 Latino + \beta_3 Male + \beta_4 Age + \epsilon$$

*Stop Rate* is the number of stops in the sample examined per 10,000 residents of the same race in a district and *Black* is coded 0 if the detainee is White and 1 if the detainee is Black. Similarly, *Latino* is coded 1 if the detainee is Latino and zero otherwise.<sup>3</sup> *Male* is coded 1 for men and 0 for women. *Age* is the detainee's age in years. By including 4 variables in the equation, this regression can better isolate the impact of race and Latino identity on the likelihood of being stopped, even if sex or age are important factors affecting the stop rate.

The coefficient on *Black* found in column 2 is 369.4, which means that in the full dataset about 369 more Black individuals were stopped than White individuals for every 10,000 same-race residents of a PSA. To put the very large magnitude of this racial difference in perspective, note that the average stop rate for Whites is 415 per 10,000 same-race PSA residents. A measure of precision of the estimate – the standard error - is reported in parentheses below the coefficient. The double stars on the standard error indicates that this result is statistically significant at better than the 1% level. This means

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<sup>3</sup> If a detainee is both Black and Latino, he is counted as Black.

that there is less than a 1% chance that the difference in stop rates between Blacks and Whites is zero.

There may be reasons other than race that minorities are stopped at higher rates. For example, if minorities tend to be younger on average, since more crime is committed by younger individuals, one might expect a higher stop rate for minorities. We control for this factor (as in equation 1 above) and others relevant to this issue. Column 3 adds controls for the PSA racial composition and Column 4 adds the PSA employment rate and the share of the male population between age 15 and 24 years of age. Even after adding these controls, the coefficient on Detainee Black (296.0) is still statistically significantly different from zero and large in magnitude.

Columns 5-7 add different controls for PSA crime rates. The crime rates are based on crimes reported to the police (not arrests) in 2018. It is preferable to use lagged crime because current crime levels could be influenced by policing policies. In each case, PSA's with higher crime rates have more stops, but controlling for crime rates does not affect the influence of detainee race on stop rate.

The final column (8) reproduces column 7, including an additional econometric safeguard. It controls for other potential differences across districts (district fixed effects). A comparison between columns 7 and 8 shows that the coefficients on Black and Latino are not greatly impacted by this addition. All of the regressions allow for potential correlations in the errors within a district (clustering standard errors at the district level). All of the regressions reported were run with the addition of district fixed effects, and the results were not materially changed.

A number of additional specification checks (some of which were suggested by



the expert for the City) were run to insure the robustness of the results. Instead of using stop rate as the outcome, the number of stops was also examined. The results from these regressions were consistent with those reported. While the number of stops per PSA is large enough that an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression is appropriate, we also made use of a negative binomial regression, which is appropriate for use with count data. Again, the results were consistent with those reported.

Table 6 is analogous to Table 5, but it uses the random sample and reports the results of a regression of the incidence of pedestrian frisks (rather than stops) on detainee race and various controls. Rather than aggregating data to the PSA-race level, the data in Table 6 is at the stop level and controls for the quarter of the year. In each regression, the coefficient on Detainee Black is statistically significantly different from zero and ranges from about 0.057 – 0.078. The preferred estimate is .077 which may be found in column 8 and controls for demographic, economic, and crime variables, as well as district fixed effects. This means the frisk rate for Black detainees is 7.7 percentage points higher than for Whites, once controlling for the array of variables described above. Since the frisk rate for Whites is 12%, this means black detainees are over 60% more likely to be frisked than Whites detainees. This result is statistically significant at the 5% level. It is robust to the array of alternative specifications described above for the stop rate regressions.

There are several other interesting results reflected in Table 6. Latinos are also more likely than Whites to be frisked (*see* second row) and the rate is slightly lower than that of Black detainees, although the result is not statistically significant. Statistically significant results are also found for age and gender. An extra decade of age decreases likelihood of frisk by about 2.9 percentage points and male detainees are far more likely

to be frisked than females. Overall, in assessing data as to frisks, and controlling for non-racial factors, there is a substantially higher frisk rate for minorities.

B. Reasonable Suspicion for Stops and Frisks: Racial Analysis

As the Plaintiffs' Tenth Report: Fourth Amendment Analysis demonstrates, a substantial number of the pedestrian stops still do not meet the reasonable suspicion standard. Table 7 shows that the share of stops without reasonable suspicion is 11% for Whites, 13% for Latinos and 18% for Blacks. The average of 16% of unfounded stops is identical to that from the first half of 2018, and the data show that 1 in 6 stops of pedestrians is without reasonable suspicion.

The share of frisks made without reasonable suspicion is far higher, at 37%, a jump of 7 percentage points over the first half of 2018. Over 1 out of every 3 frisks in Philadelphia is legally unfounded. The unfounded rate is highest for minorities, making up 39% of frisks of Blacks and 31% of Latino frisks, whereas the rate for Whites is still quite high at 28%.

As with stop rates and frisks, regressions allow us to understand whether the differences in unfounded stop rates are statistically significant. Unlike those regressions, here we do not include controls for local characteristics since the question of reasonable suspicion should be based exclusively on the information regarding the detained individual; area characteristics do not bear on the legal standard. Therefore, Table 8 reports results from such regressions, with each column representing a separate regression where the dependent variable is whether there was reasonable suspicion for the stop, examining only differences arising from individual demographic characteristics. The coefficient on Detainee Black ranges between -.061 and -.074 and in all cases is

statistically significant at the 1% confidence level. This reinforces the results seen in Table 7: the rate of unfounded stops is 6 to 7 percentage points higher for Blacks than Whites. *This means Blacks are over 50% more likely to be stopped without reasonable suspicion than Whites.* These disparities are substantially greater than in the first half of 2018. The results for Latino detainees are smaller in magnitude, ranging between -.015 and -.031, and not statistically significant.

Table 9 is similar to Table 8 and describes regressions of the rate of reasonable suspicion, but now for a frisk rather than a stop. The coefficient on Detainee Black ranges from -.10 to -.11 indicating a vast difference in legally justified frisks between Blacks and Whites. Put another way, *Blacks are 40% more likely to be frisked without reasonable suspicion than Whites.*<sup>4</sup> These results indicate a marked increase from prior years. Not only does the overall rate of legally unfounded frisks remain extremely high at almost 40% overall, the rate is substantially higher for Blacks.

### C. Hit-Rate Analysis

An important measure of the propriety of stops and particularly of frisks is the rate at which they lead to the discovery of contraband, and particularly weapons, since frisks are permitted only where the officer reasonably believes that the suspect is armed and dangerous. Moreover, seizures of weapons are often cited as justification for a robust stop and frisk program. The rates of discovery of contraband from frisks are reported in Table 10 where contraband is categorized as firearms, drugs, or other (e.g., small amounts of cash).

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<sup>4</sup> The difference between unfounded frisks of Latinos and Whites is small and statistically insignificant.

As we have documented in our Tenth Report: Fourth Amendment Analysis, Table 10 reports an overall detection rate for firearms that is extremely low, with only 1 in 68 pedestrian frisks yielding a firearm. Drugs were the most common contraband, found in 1 of every 21 frisks, but as we have noted previously, frisks for drugs are prohibited, and such seizures would be justified in very few cases, e.g., where the officer credibly states that a frisk for weapons produced an immediate “plain feel” of drugs. Overall, contraband was found in about 11% of all frisks.

Table 11 is a more sophisticated approach to the firearms hit-rate analysis. The regressions report the rate of discovery of a firearm in pedestrian frisks. The results are not statistically significant, as there were under 500 frisks in the database. This suggests that the full dataset may be more useful than the sample to understand the impact of race on contraband hit-rates. These results are presented in Table 12, which includes 4,998 frisks in Q3 and Q4 of 2019, of which 10.3% resulted in the recovery of contraband or evidence (the type is not categorized in the full data). Hit rates for Blacks are 9.8% while they are 11.4% for Whites. Even given the larger data set the low rates still mean that once adding control variables, the differences are not statistically significant.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

We have examined the relationship of race to stop and frisk practices from multiple perspectives, following standard statistical protocols. There are several concerning findings and trends. The regression analysis shows that as in previous years, stop and frisk rates vary significantly depending on the race of the detainee, with Blacks both stopped and frisked at higher rates. In addition, there is strong evidence of racial disparity in legally unfounded stops and frisks as Blacks are substantially more likely to be subject to a stop or frisk lacking reasonable suspicion.

We will await the City's response to this Report before suggesting additional remedial measures to ensure that racial bias, whether explicit or implicit, does not impact the decision to stop or frisk pedestrians in Philadelphia.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ David Rudovsky

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Figure 1

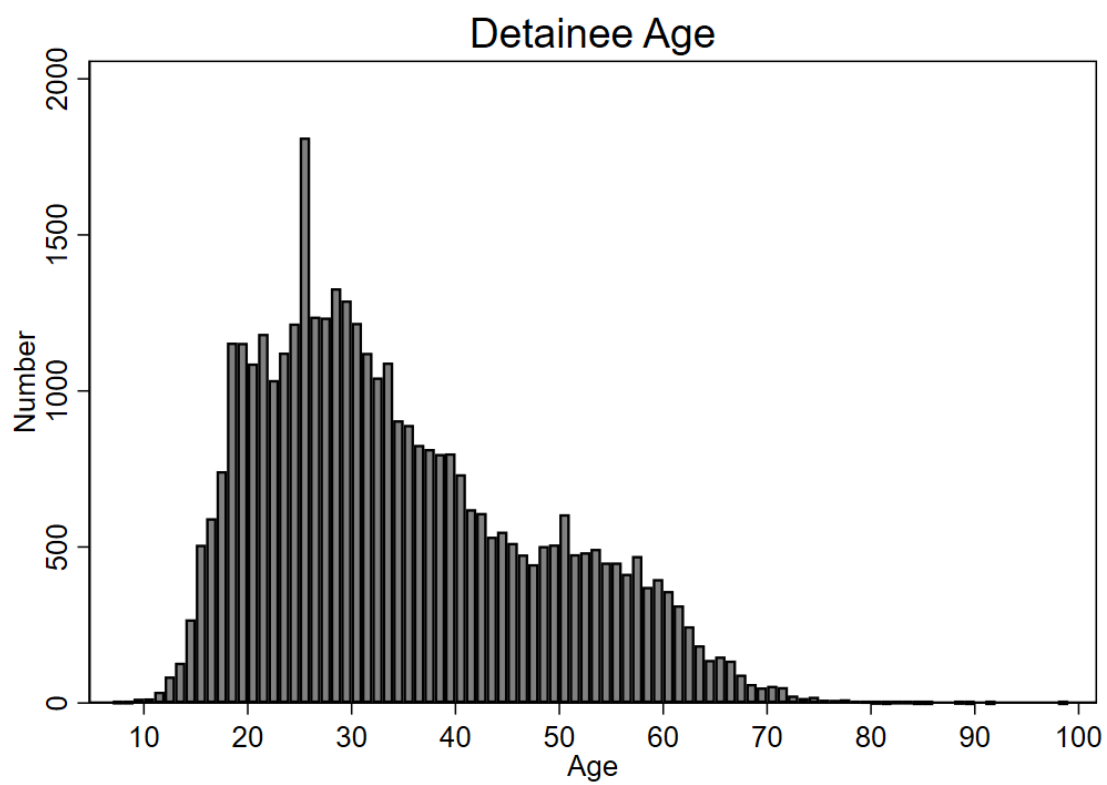
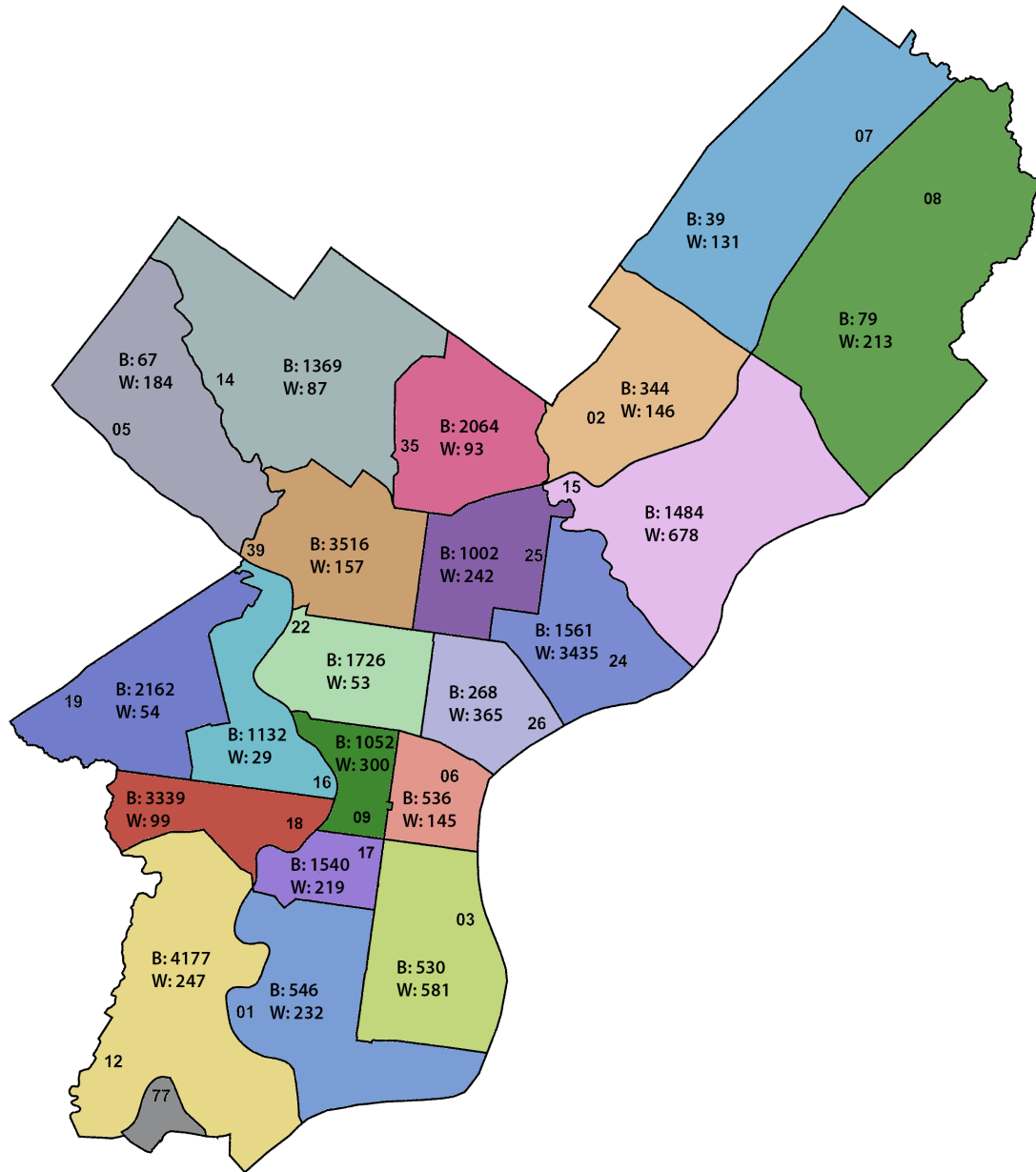


Figure 2



**Figure 3**

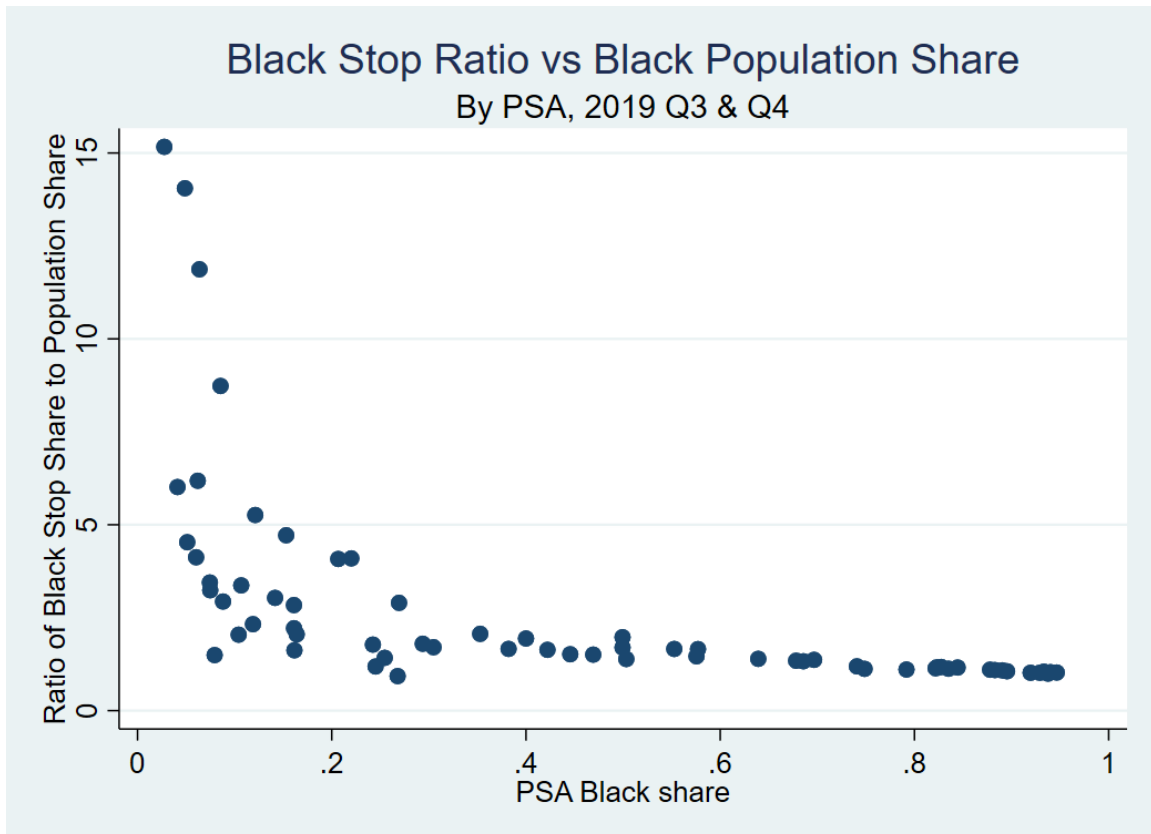
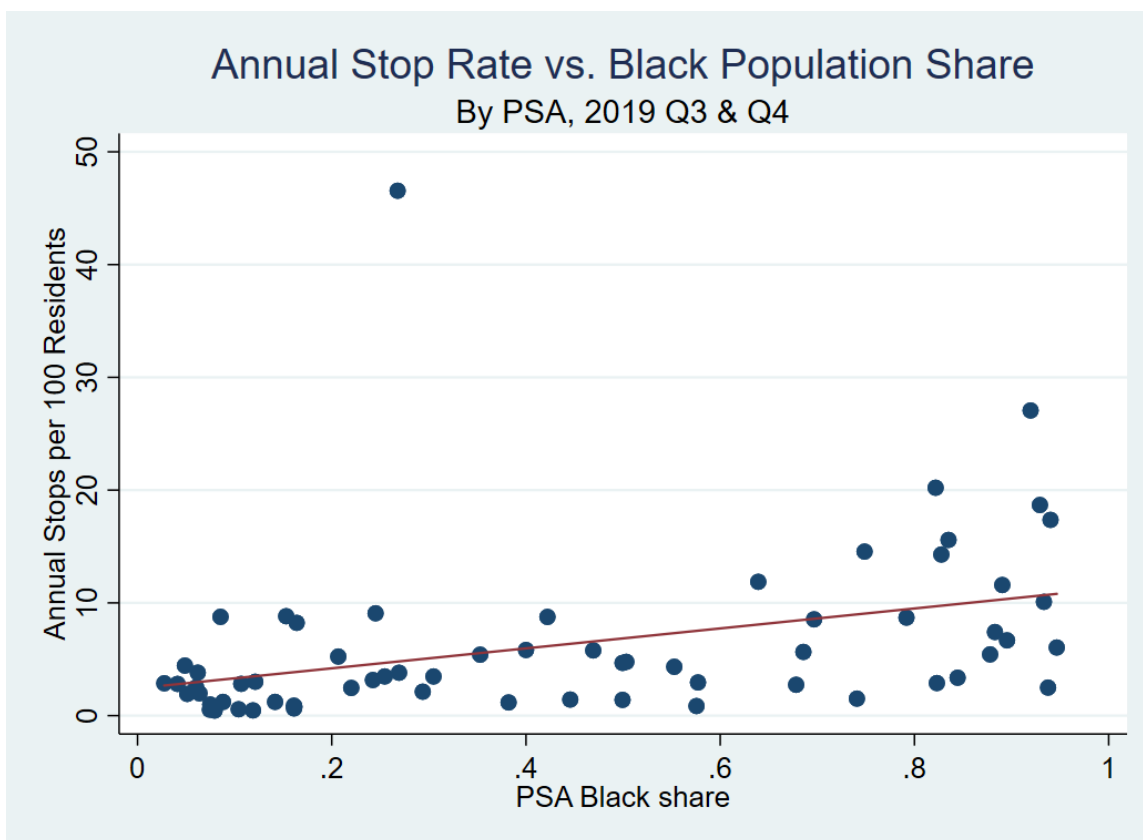




Figure 4



**Table 1**

**2019 Q3 & Q4 Random Sample Summary Statistics**

VARIABLES	(1) Mean	(2) N
Reasonable Suspicion for stop?	84%	3982
Individual Frisked	12%	3955
Reasonable Suspicion for frisk?	63%	485
Search Made	15.3%	3982
Arrest Made	13.3%	3955
Evidence or Contraband Found	5.0%	3955
Firearm Found	0.73%	3955
Drugs Found	2.8%	3955
Detainee Age	34.5	3965
Detainee Male	85%	3978
Detainee Black	72%	3924
Detainee Latino	7.7%	3982

Table includes summary statistics from 2019 Q3 & Q4 random sample, excluding observations incorrectly coded as stops.

**Table 2**

**2019 Q3 & Q4 PSA-Level All Stops Summary Statistics**

VARIABLES	(1) Mean	(2) Median	(3) SD	(4) Min	(5) Max	(6) Obs
Stop of Black Pedestrian	439	255	455	7	1767	65
Stop of White Pedestrian	118	48	321	5.0	2502	65
Stop of Hispanic Pedestrian	42	11	113	0.0	780	65
Stops per 10,000 Black Residents	565	390	614	28	3234	65
Stops per 10,000 White Residents	415	102	1049	9	7886	65
Stops per 10,000 Hispanic Residents	172	92	273	0	1711	65
Detainee Age	34.1	33.7	2.3	30.0	40.1	65
Detainee Male	85%	86%	5%	70%	92%	65
PSA Population	21740	20113	9009	6940	43886	65
PSA Black share	44%	38%	32%	2.8%	95%	65
PSA White share	35%	31%	29%	1.0%	87%	65
PSA Latino share	12%	5%	17%	0.9%	75%	65
PSA Asian share	6.3%	4.7%	5.5%	0.09%	23%	65
Employment Rate	93%	92%	3%	83%	98%	65
Male population under 24	7%	7%	4%	3%	23%	65
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	265	223	149	50	798	65
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	482	442	215	160	1211	65
Drug Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	69	32	155	0.7	1198	65
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)	645	624	293	185	1559	65

Table includes PSA-level summary statistics from 2019 Q3 & Q4 all stops, excluding PSA 77 (airport)

### Table 3

#### Counts by Race in Random Sample, 2019 Q3 & Q4

	Black	Latino	White	Total
Stops	2809	263	867	3939
Stop Share	71%	7%	22%	100%
Frisks	389	29	57	475
Frisk Share	82%	6%	12%	100%
Stops/Frisk	7.2	9.1	15.2	8.3
Searches	439	56	109	604
Stops/Search	6.4	4.7	8.0	6.5
Arrests	362	46	116	524
Stops/Arrest	7.8	5.7	7.5	7.5
Contraband or Evidence	162	13	23	198
Frisks/Contraband	2.4	2.2	2.5	2.4

## Table 4A

### PSA-Level Statistics, Black Stops 2019 Q3 & Q4

PSA	PSA Black share	Black Share of Stops	Ratio of Black Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
222	95%	97%	1.02	6.0	490
181	94%	97%	1.04	17.4	349
141	94%	93%	1.00	2.5	223
192	93%	98%	1.05	10.1	418
392	93%	95%	1.02	18.7	798
393	92%	94%	1.02	27.1	585
142	90%	95%	1.06	6.7	401
124	89%	96%	1.08	11.6	304
162	88%	96%	1.09	7.4	351
353	88%	97%	1.10	5.4	291
191	84%	98%	1.16	3.4	193
123	84%	94%	1.13	15.6	356
182	83%	97%	1.17	14.3	356
224	82%	96%	1.16	2.9	385
122	82%	94%	1.14	20.2	360
121	79%	88%	1.11	8.7	188
172	75%	84%	1.12	14.6	306
193	74%	88%	1.19	1.5	261
221	70%	95%	1.37	8.5	498
352	69%	91%	1.33	5.6	301
351	68%	91%	1.34	2.7	192
173	64%	89%	1.39	11.9	218
223	58%	96%	1.66	2.9	426
144	58%	84%	1.46	0.9	107
391	55%	92%	1.66	4.3	323
251	50%	70%	1.39	4.8	332
161	50%	99%	1.98	4.7	206
143	50%	85%	1.70	1.4	159
254	47%	71%	1.51	5.8	526
21	45%	68%	1.52	1.4	179
151	42%	69%	1.64	8.8	303

**Table 4A, continued**  
**PSA-Level Statistics, Black Stops 2019 Q3 & Q4**

PSA	PSA Black share	Black Share of Stops	Ratio of Black Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
61	40%	78%	1.94	5.8	293
22	38%	63%	1.66	1.2	140
11	35%	73%	2.07	5.4	159
261	30%	52%	1.71	3.5	309
152	29%	53%	1.80	2.1	220
171	27%	78%	2.90	3.8	107
242	27%	25%	0.93	46.5	522
262	25%	36%	1.42	3.5	183
241	25%	29%	1.19	9.1	308
252	24%	43%	1.78	3.2	327
183	22%	90%	4.10	2.5	140
93	21%	84%	4.08	5.2	128
253	16%	34%	2.05	8.2	378
81	16%	26%	1.62	0.8	149
53	16%	36%	2.22	0.6	79
23	16%	46%	2.84	0.9	114
62	15%	72%	4.72	8.8	502
153	14%	43%	3.03	1.2	181
31	12%	64%	5.26	3.0	148
71	12%	28%	2.33	0.5	58
32	11%	36%	3.37	2.8	164
82	10%	21%	2.04	0.6	100
51	9%	26%	2.94	1.2	114
92	9%	75%	8.73	8.8	431
72	8%	12%	1.49	0.5	50
83	7%	24%	3.24	1.0	105
73	7%	26%	3.45	0.5	63
63	6%	76%	11.87	2.0	310
33	6%	38%	6.18	3.8	170
243	6%	25%	4.12	2.5	279
52	5%	23%	4.53	1.9	130
91	5%	69%	14.05	4.4	154
263	4%	25%	6.02	2.8	190
12	3%	42%	15.2	2.9	103

**Table 4B**  
**PSA-Level Statistics, Latino Stops 2019 Q3 & Q4**

PSA	PSA Latino share	Latino Share of Stops	Ratio of Latino Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
253	75%	50%	0.67	8.2	378
252	60%	44%	0.73	3.2	327
261	59%	25%	0.42	3.5	309
242	54%	18%	0.33	46.5	522
241	53%	16%	0.30	9.1	308
254	49%	23%	0.46	5.8	526
251	46%	22%	0.48	4.8	332
262	29%	13%	0.44	3.5	183
22	25%	20%	0.80	1.2	140
152	24%	9%	0.39	2.1	220
21	23%	13%	0.58	1.4	179
151	23%	7%	0.31	8.8	303
352	19%	4%	0.23	5.6	301
23	15%	10%	0.65	0.9	114
33	14%	11%	0.75	3.8	170
263	13%	12%	0.94	2.8	190
153	12%	12%	0.98	1.2	181
243	11%	10%	0.97	2.5	279
32	10%	10%	1.07	2.8	164
351	9%	3%	0.29	2.7	192
81	8%	27%	3.51	0.8	149
31	8%	4%	0.49	3.0	148
61	7%	6%	0.83	5.8	293
93	7%	2%	0.34	5.2	128
72	7%	10%	1.52	0.5	50
62	7%	4%	0.64	8.8	502
82	7%	5%	0.81	0.6	100
221	6%	1%	0.23	8.5	498
91	6%	1%	0.22	4.4	154
83	6%	3%	0.55	1.0	105
71	5%	0%	0.00	0.5	58
183	5%	0%	0.06	2.5	140

**Table 4B, continued**  
**PSA-Level Statistics, Latino Stops 2019 Q3 & Q4**

PSA	PSA Latino share	Latino Share of Stops	Ratio of Latino Stop Share to Population Share	Total Stops per 100 Residents	Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)
173	5%	3%	0.56	11.9	218
92	5%	2%	0.45	8.8	431
63	4%	3%	0.66	2.0	310
171	4%	3%	0.60	3.8	107
223	4%	1%	0.13	2.9	426
52	4%	2%	0.41	1.9	130
51	4%	3%	0.88	1.2	114
12	4%	6%	1.72	2.9	103
11	4%	2%	0.46	5.4	159
144	3%	1%	0.24	0.9	107
391	3%	2%	0.45	4.3	323
121	3%	1%	0.29	8.7	188
73	3%	5%	1.58	0.5	63
53	3%	0%	0.00	0.6	79
161	3%	0%	0.00	4.7	206
224	3%	1%	0.37	2.9	385
192	3%	0%	0.13	10.1	418
123	3%	1%	0.46	15.6	356
143	3%	1%	0.31	1.4	159
222	2%	1%	0.44	6.0	490
122	2%	1%	0.46	20.2	360
172	2%	2%	0.95	14.6	306
124	2%	0%	0.15	11.6	304
393	2%	2%	1.32	27.1	585
353	2%	1%	0.59	5.4	291
191	2%	0%	0.21	3.4	193
193	2%	1%	0.33	1.5	261
182	1%	1%	0.56	14.3	356
392	1%	2%	1.23	18.7	798
162	1%	1%	0.52	7.4	351
181	1%	0%	0.48	17.4	349
141	1%	2%	2.10	2.5	223
142	1%	1%	1.50	6.7	401



**Table 5**  
**Stop Rate per 10,000 Residents**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Detainee Black	287.0 (79.84)**	369.4 (102.8)**	264.4 (116.8)*	296.0 (116.4)*	289.0 (122.6)*	288.5 (120.7)*	293.5 (120.1)*	308.5 (132.8)*
Detainee Latino	0.0995 (33.92)	91.60 (60.53)	-150.8 (213.2)	-123.0 (213.0)	-134.9 (213.5)	-134.5 (212.7)	-130.5 (212.4)	-121.9 (226.8)
Detainee Male		-441.3 (523.0)	-490.0 (517.9)	-490.3 (523.1)	-658.3 (566.8)	-641.7 (560.9)	-612.9 (559.7)	-1,023 (758.1)
Detainee Age		12.00 (11.57)	9.032 (11.29)	14.96 (10.85)	9.352 (9.999)	9.994 (9.875)	10.59 (9.874)	4.923 (13.58)
PSA Asian share			-161.9 (612.3)	-236.0 (653.4)	38.24 (432.3)	-88.19 (480.9)	318.9 (378.8)	-1,201 (1,039)
PSA Black share			224.3 (185.4)	-8.471 (169.8)	-65.57 (151.3)	11.40 (163.3)	-295.4 (135.3)*	-282.4 (365.9)
PSA Latino share			895.4 (677.9)	506.9 (507.3)	440.6 (516.9)	551.1 (535.5)	215.5 (480.4)	956.2 (726.2)
Male population under 24				-501.2 (979.4)	-1,222 (872.3)	-1,181 (913.5)	-978.7 (863.2)	1,030 (1,631)
Employment Rate				-3,305 (1,879)	-2,635 (1,360)	-2,974 (1,510)	-1,857 (1,107)	-822.8 (2,230)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)					0.606 (0.183)**			
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)						0.659 (0.211)**		
Viloent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)							1.623 (0.426)**	2.149 (0.847)*
Constant	139.8 (62.77)*	43.73 (713.6)	68.61 (677.4)	3,087 (2,242)	2,521 (1,623)	2,824 (1,825)	1,768 (1,307)	1,067 (2,353)
District Fixed Effect	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	195	191	191	191	191	191	191	191
R-squared	0.087	0.097	0.159	0.177	0.260	0.233	0.285	0.425

Standard errors in parentheses clustered at district level. \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table 6**  
**Frisk**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Detainee Black	0.076 (0.023)**	0.057 (0.022)*	0.075 (0.030)*	0.076 (0.030)*	0.076 (0.029)*	0.078 (0.029)*	0.073 (0.029)*	0.077 (0.030)*
Detainee Latino	0.053 (0.019)*	0.029 (0.021)	0.0100 (0.029)	0.010 (0.029)	0.0080 (0.029)	0.0092 (0.029)	0.0071 (0.030)	0.0024 (0.033)
Detainee Male		0.097 (0.015)**	0.097 (0.015)**	0.097 (0.015)**	0.098 (0.015)**	0.098 (0.015)**	0.098 (0.015)**	0.096 (0.016)**
Detainee Age		-0.0031 (0.00048)**	-0.0030 (0.00046)**	-0.0030 (0.00045)**	-0.0029 (0.00044)**	-0.0029 (0.00044)**	-0.0030 (0.00044)**	-0.0029 (0.00045)**
PSA Asian share			0.22 (0.16)	0.22 (0.15)	0.21 (0.12)	0.22 (0.11)	0.17 (0.13)	0.19 (0.25)
PSA Black share			0.018 (0.040)	0.020 (0.031)	0.041 (0.029)	0.023 (0.027)	0.074 (0.035)*	0.073 (0.076)
PSA Latino share			0.14 (0.046)**	0.15 (0.039)**	0.18 (0.040)**	0.15 (0.039)**	0.21 (0.045)**	0.087 (0.093)
Male population under 24				-0.11 (0.23)	-0.016 (0.27)	-0.0058 (0.27)	-0.051 (0.26)	-0.61 (0.34)
Employment Rate				-0.023 (0.30)	0.10 (0.27)	0.11 (0.27)	0.032 (0.27)	0.37 (0.44)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)					-0.000079 (0.000028)*			
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)						-0.00010 (0.000042)*		
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)							-0.00017 (0.000056)**	-0.00017 (0.000085)
Constant	0.083 (0.020)**	0.12 (0.028)**	0.062 (0.042)	0.089 (0.27)	0.011 (0.25)	0.0047 (0.25)	0.059 (0.25)	-0.19 (0.42)
District Fixed Effect	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	3,897	3,878	3,878	3,878	3,878	3,878	3,878	3,878
R-squared	0.013	0.041	0.046	0.046	0.050	0.049	0.050	0.060

Standard errors in parentheses clustered at district level. \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table 7**

**Reasonable Suspicion by Race in Random Sample, 2019 Q3 & Q4**

	Black	Latino	White	Total
Stops	2809	263	867	3939
Reasonable Suspicion	2298	228	772	3298
Share of Stops without Reasonable Suspicion	18%	13%	11%	16%
Frisks	389	29	57	475
Reasonable Suspicion	236	20	41	297
Share of Frisks without Reasonable Suspicion	39%	31%	28%	37%

**Table 8****Reasonable Suspicion for Stop**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Detainee Black	-0.074 (0.019)**	-0.067 (0.019)**	-0.061 (0.020)**
Detainee Latino	-0.031 (0.023)	-0.024 (0.024)	-0.015 (0.026)
Detainee Male		-0.049 (0.021)*	-0.049 (0.020)*
Detainee Age			0.0026 (0.00050)**
Constant	0.89 (0.010)**	0.93 (0.016)**	0.83 (0.024)**
Observations	3,924	3,921	3,905
R-squared	0.007	0.009	0.018

Standard errors in parentheses clustered at district level. \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table 9****Reasonable Suspicion for Frisk**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)
Detainee Black	-0.11 (0.050)*	-0.11 (0.047)*	-0.10 (0.046)*
Detainee Latino	-0.0054 (0.088)	-0.013 (0.089)	-0.0046 (0.097)
Detainee Male		0.11 (0.094)	0.11 (0.093)
Detainee Age			0.0015 (0.0027)
Constant	0.71 (0.044)**	0.61 (0.093)**	0.56 (0.12)**
Observations	472	472	472
R-squared	0.007	0.009	0.010

Standard errors in parentheses clustered at district level. \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table 10****Contraband by Race in Random Sample, 2019 Q3 & Q4**

	Black	Latino	White	Total
Frisks	389	29	57	475
Firearm	6	1	0	7
Drugs	20	2	1	23
Any	40	5	7	52
Frisks/Firearm	65	29	∞	68
Frisks/Drugs	19	15	57	21
Frisks/Any	10	6	8	9

**Table 11**  
**Firearm Recovered**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Detainee Black	0.0096 (0.0078)	0.0069 (0.0080)	0.0052 (0.010)	0.0049 (0.011)	0.0050 (0.011)	0.0055 (0.011)	0.0048 (0.010)	0.0069 (0.011)
Detainee Latino	0.017 (0.016)	0.015 (0.016)	0.012 (0.022)	0.011 (0.021)	0.011 (0.021)	0.011 (0.021)	0.011 (0.021)	0.016 (0.020)
Detainee Male		0.011 (0.0047)*	0.011 (0.0048)*	0.0099 (0.0056)	0.010 (0.0057)	0.0099 (0.0055)	0.0100 (0.0058)	0.0063 (0.0091)
Detainee Age		-0.00036 (0.00028)	-0.00034 (0.00029)	-0.00036 (0.00031)	-0.00036 (0.00031)	-0.00037 (0.00031)	-0.00036 (0.00031)	-0.00037 (0.00035)
PSA Asian share			0.0051 (0.099)	0.0089 (0.095)	0.00082 (0.096)	-0.0015 (0.096)	0.0065 (0.097)	-0.25 (0.12)*
PSA Black share			0.0097 (0.019)	0.020 (0.026)	0.020 (0.026)	0.018 (0.026)	0.021 (0.029)	-0.15 (0.072)*
PSA Latino share			0.016 (0.029)	0.036 (0.047)	0.037 (0.047)	0.033 (0.046)	0.037 (0.049)	0.14 (0.058)*
Male population under 24				0.15 (0.15)	0.17 (0.16)	0.19 (0.16)	0.15 (0.15)	0.26 (0.17)
Employment Rate				0.21 (0.23)	0.22 (0.23)	0.24 (0.22)	0.21 (0.23)	-0.58 (0.30)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)					-0.000011 (0.000013)			
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)						-0.000023 (0.000019)		
Viloent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)							-5.6e-06 (0.000030)	-0.000039 (0.000076)
Constant	-0.0016 (0.0064)	0.00036 (0.015)	-0.0066 (0.021)	-0.21 (0.22)	-0.22 (0.22)	-0.23 (0.22)	-0.21 (0.22)	0.59 (0.31)
District Fixed Effect	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	472	472	472	472	472	472	472	472
R-squared	0.006	0.007	0.008	0.010	0.011	0.011	0.010	0.050

Standard errors in parentheses clustered at district level. \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05

**Table 12**  
**Contraband Recovered**

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Detainee Black	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.016 (0.011)	0.00074 (0.012)	0.0019 (0.011)	-0.0017 (0.010)	-0.0028 (0.011)	0.00057 (0.010)	-0.00028 (0.014)
Detainee Latino	0.025 (0.024)	0.021 (0.022)	0.034 (0.019)	0.035 (0.019)	0.031 (0.019)	0.030 (0.019)	0.032 (0.019)	0.032 (0.023)
Detainee Male		-0.011 (0.018)	-0.011 (0.018)	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.0081 (0.018)	-0.0082 (0.018)	-0.0089 (0.018)	-0.0052 (0.018)
Detainee Age		-0.00045 (0.00033)	-0.00053 (0.00031)	-0.00052 (0.00031)	-0.00059 (0.00031)	-0.00058 (0.00030)	-0.00059 (0.00031)	-0.00058 (0.00031)
PSA Asian share			-0.24 (0.19)	-0.22 (0.19)	-0.19 (0.19)	-0.20 (0.19)	-0.18 (0.19)	-0.13 (0.26)
PSA Black share			-0.090 (0.045)	-0.083 (0.048)	-0.084 (0.044)	-0.075 (0.045)	-0.10 (0.045)*	-0.037 (0.060)
PSA Latino share			-0.085 (0.040)*	-0.073 (0.058)	-0.077 (0.055)	-0.062 (0.057)	-0.093 (0.054)	-0.097 (0.042)*
Male population under 24				-0.15 (0.16)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.19 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.17)	-0.088 (0.26)
Employment Rate				0.046 (0.37)	0.048 (0.34)	0.019 (0.34)	0.079 (0.35)	-0.055 (0.65)
UCR Part 1 Crime Rate (per 10k residents)					0.000051 (0.000019)*			
Property Crime Rate (per 10k residents)						0.000077 0.000025)*:		
Violent Crime Rate (per 10k residents)							0.000091 (0.000040)*	9.7e-06 (0.000098)
Constant	0.10 (0.013)**	0.13 (0.021)**	0.19 (0.037)**	0.15 (0.37)	0.12 (0.35)	0.14 (0.34)	0.11 (0.35)	0.21 (0.63)
District Fixed Effect	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	4,998	4,981	4,981	4,981	4,981	4,981	4,981	4,981
R-squared	0.002	0.003	0.005	0.006	0.007	0.007	0.007	0.015

Standard errors in parentheses clustered at district level. \*\* p<0.01, \* p<0.05